

The heterogeneity of spouse abuse: A review

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The Heterogeneity of Spouse Abuse: A Review.

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The Heterogeneity of Spouse Abuse: A Review.

Abstract

Recent research suggests that spouse abusers are not a homogenous group. Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) propose three types of domestic violent men; Family Only, Generally Violent/Antisocial and Dysphoric/Borderline Personality. This theoretical classification is compared to nine empirical research studies and two hypothetical studies, which can be found in the literature dated from 1994 onwards. The review provides support for the three-fold typology. The total averages of offenders classified by Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuarts (1994) typology across the studies were 50%, 30% and 20% respectively. However, when sample type was considered a significant difference between court referrals and volunteers was found for the men's distribution across the three types, with court referred men being less likely to be categorised into the Family Only group. All research to date is criticised for its narrow focus on the offender and its lack of a scientific profiling approach. Other factors such as the context, triggers for violence and the behavioural actions of the victim need to be considered. A more holistic family focused typology is suggested to be more appropriate for those victims who do not want to separate from their violent spouse.

Key Words: Family Violence, Spouse Abuse, Typologies, Profiling

The Heterogeneity of Spouse Abuse: A Review.

Violence within the family is a common phenomenon of modern society, occurring across most cultures (Levinson, 1989). In 1996, The World Health Assembly adopted resolution WHA49.25 that declared violence as a priority in public health, together with resolution WHA5019, which called upon member states of the United Nations to eliminate violence against women and children. Hence a science-based public health approach to preventing violence was adopted by The World Health Organisation Task Force on Violence and Health (2000). They recommended four major objectives: The first to define and characterise different types of violence and assess their consequences. The second to understand the causes of violence and identify risk factors for aggressive behaviour. The third to identify best practice and evaluate interventions aimed at preventing violence. The fourth to strengthen the capacity of the health and social systems to disseminate knowledge and implement programs to reduce violence in society, especially that directed at women and children.

One of the greatest areas of public health concern is violence in the context of the family. 'People are more likely to be killed, physically assaulted, hit, beaten up, slapped or spanked in their own homes by other family members than anywhere else, or by anyone else in our society' (Gelles and Cornell, 1990: 11). The Home office (1992) reported that domestic violence accounted for between 42 - 49% of all female homicides in the UK. Survey data compiled by the United Nations Statistical Office (2000) disclosed that in the U.S, 28% of women had been physically attacked by an intimate partner in the last year, whilst 25% of women in Belgium and Norway, and 17% in New Zealand experienced assault in the same way. A national Canadian survey found that 29% of ever-married women age 16 onwards had suffered a physical attack by a current or ex-partner (Statistics Canada 1990). The findings from the British crime Survey (Mirrlees-Black, 1999) assessed the number of victims experiencing domestic violence for both men and women. The survey reported that 23% of women and 15% of men aged 16-59 said they had been physically assaulted by a current or ex-partner at some time, with 12% of women and 5% of men assaulted on 3 or more occasions ('chronic victims').

The following review aims to address the first objective set out by The World Health Organisation (2000). The review highlights the growing realisation that domestic violent men are a heterogeneous group, and that differences among abusers should be examined in order to understand the various forms of violence and the consequences of it. The Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) typology is considered in detail, which classifies men's violent behaviour based on characteristics of the abuser and their violence. Subsequent classification literature from 1994 onwards is reviewed in comparison to Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart's (1994) research.

Domestic Violent Offenders are the Same?

Pizzey (1974) highlighted the grave reality of domestic violence, coining abusing men as 'dangerous, disruptive and intractable', since then much research has been instigated in the family violence literature concerning such men. Researchers have largely concentrated on studying male spouse abusers in comparison to non-abusive males, which inherently assumes that domestic violent offenders are a homogenous group, sharing similar characteristics. Table 1 provides a summary of the characteristics which researchers have associated with domestic violent men in comparison to non-violent men. These characteristics are considered useful in estimating the risk of spouse abuse occurring in families (Saunders 1995, Browne and Herbert 1997). However, no one factor can predict the likelihood of spouse abuse. For example, psychopathy, along with antisocial personality disorder, predominates in only 25% of abusers (Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart 1994, Monson and Langhinnsen-Rohling, 1998).

Table 1 about here

It is plausible that offender's behaviour is best described by subcategories. Thus samples will differ in terms of proportions of different subtypes and give contrasting results. There is no reason to suggest that all domestic violent men are alike, indeed Huss et al (2000) asserts that researchers have increasingly concluded that there is not a unitary profile for violent men in domestic settings. Recent research has demonstrated that spouse abusers are not a homogenous group, efforts to conceptualise the aetiology of domestic violence have resulted in the production of typologies of domestic violent men (Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart 1994; Hamberger 1996; White and Gondolf 2000; Greene, Coles and Johnson 1994; Monson and Langhinnsen-Rohling 1998). The categorisation of spouse abusers into subgroups will increase the understanding of the domain.

One obvious factor differentiating offenders within spouse abuse is the status of the victim against which the perpetrator offends. Violence is not always unidirectional (man to woman), as aggressive acts are perpetrated from woman to man, and also in same sex relationships. Husbands and wives have been shown to engage in aggressive acts at congruent rates, US statistics display similar rates of husbands killed by their wives, as wives by husbands (Wilson and Daly 1992). However, arguing against the case of sexual symmetry in spouse abuse is research demonstrating that wives, unlike their partners, usually instigate aggression only for the purpose of self-defence (Saunders 1986; Dobash et al 1992). Research shows that wife violence results in more extensive negative outcomes than husband abuse, in terms of greater injury and psychological upset (Mirrlees-Black and Byron 1999; Holtzworth-Munroe, Smutzler and Bates 1997), and that the majority of abuse is characterised by the male offending against the female (Morley and Mullender 1994; Mayhew, Maung and Mirrless-Black 1993; Monson and Langhinnsen-Rohling 1998). Authors, such as Archer (1994) have even gone as far to proclaim that male violence may even be *the* major source of human suffering

Typology Research.

Past research has examined the feasibility of categorising male spouse abusers. Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) constructed a typology by reviewing the domestic violence literature. They examine typologies derived through clinical observations and a priori theoretical speculation (e.g. Sweeny and Key, 1982; Fagan, Stewart and Hanson, 1983; Cadsky and Crawford, 1988; Elbow, 1977) and those based on empirical/inductive techniques of factor or cluster analysis (e.g. Hamberger and Hastings, 1985; Flournoy and Wilson, 1991; Saunders 1992; Stith, Jester and Bird, 1992). From the literature review, Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) concluded that three core intrapersonal elements; severity of violence, generality of violence and psychopathology/personality disorder can differentiate between abusers. Thus, three types of domestic violent men were proposed, namely; family only, generally violent/antisocial and dysphoric/borderline. It is proposed that 50% of domestic violent men will be best described by the family only category, 25% by the generally violent/antisocial subtypes and 25% by the dysphoric/borderline type (Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart 1994).

A model of distal and proximal etiological variables is proposed to account for the development of the differing subtypes of behaviour. They anticipate that distal factors (those variables occurring in early childhood or before)

influence the development of five proximal correlates of domestic violence (adult characteristics believed to increase the likelihood of a man engaging in spouse abuse). It is assumed that the extent to which variables interact determines the likelihood of a man becoming violent, and which type of abuser he will inherently become. The more distal variables present in an individual's history, the more likely it is that they will grow to be severely and frequently violent, abusing extrafamilial members as well as familial. Figure 1 provides a summary of the distal and proximal variables proposed to be associated with the developmental pattern for each type of spouse abuser and the dimensions of their resultant violence and hypothesised psychological state.

Figure 1 about here

Initial support has been gathered for Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart's (1994) typology (Hamberger et al 1996; Tweed and Dutton 1998; Waltz et al 2000). However, the tri-modal model is based only on hypothetical foundations and was developed from research using clinical observations and a priori speculation. Such methods used to stipulate types are not valid or reliable. Those studies utilising factor or cluster analysis to derive types can also be criticised, as there are more sophisticated methods available to analyse the data. The origin of the data utilised in the literature review was mostly from the U.S, limiting the generality of the model, as cultural differences prevail. Additionally, the typology has been criticised for confounding violence dimensions with psychopathology (Hamberger et al 1996), it may prove more fruitful to examine offenders along one theoretical dimension (such as personality) against which other characteristics of the offence and offender could be mapped. Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart's (1994) typology only identifies three types of offenders, it is probable that some further subcategories of these types exist, and therefore need to be identified.

Review of Research 1994-2001.

Research concerning typologies of domestic violent men was reviewed from 1994 onwards. An electronic literature search for the years 1994 to 2001 was performed on the following databases; *PsycLit*, *Web of Science*, *Medline*, *Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA)*, *Social Sciences Abstracts*, *Educational Resources Information Centre (ERIC)*, *Sociofile*, *Sociological Abstracts*. The searches used combinations of the following keywords; *typologies*, *typology*, *types*, *classification*, *subtypes*, *categorisation*, *domestic violence*,

spouse abuse, batterers, interpersonal violence, woman abuse, males. The reference section of each article found was then manually searched for further possible citations. The central criterion for inclusion in the review was that the research had attempted to identify various types of domestic violent men, along some dimension from the years 1994 - 2001.

Twelve studies were identified, all of which found some level of support for the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart typology (1994). A summary of the research articles can be found in Table 2. Studies are presented in chronological order (numbered 1-12), each defined according to the theory on which the typology is based, three methodological points, the established types and their associated violence dimensions and characteristics. The relationship between the reviewed literature, depicted in Table 2, and the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) typology is summarised in Table 3. The studies are described in Table 3 on the basis of the sample used to create each classification system. The domestic violent men were classified as court referrals for treatment or as volunteers or self-referrals.

Table 2 about here

Table 3 about here

Aims and Hypothesis: The aim of the above procedure was to examine bias across samples. It was hypothesised that the court referred sample would include a lower percentage of men in the Family Only category in comparison to the volunteer sample.

The objective was to demonstrate that the type of domestic violent offender and their severity of violence would vary depending on the referral process. This would have obvious implications for treatment whereby the needs of those referred would differ depending on whether they were volunteers or court referrals.

Research Utilising Court Referred Men.

Hamberger et al (1996) attempted to empirically validate the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart typology (1994), basing the classification system on the intrapersonal factor of personality. Three clusters emerged, which were further associated with other maladaptive characteristics using chi-square and multivariate analysis. Non-pathological and antisocial abusers were analogous to the family only and generally violent/antisocial men respectively. Rather than the predicted dysphoric /borderline offender, a passive-aggressive dependent type was proposed. This subtype exhibits the same severity of violence, yet at a higher frequency than the antisocial type and displays a higher degree of borderline personality organisation than the other clusters, yet symptoms are not sufficient to warrant the diagnostic label. Additionally, 13.1% of the sample could not be classified by the typology, but were best accounted for by three smaller clusters, considered too rare to be included in further analysis. Thus the suitability of personality pathology as a discriminatory dimension must be questioned.

The clusters produced in Rothschild et al (1997) analysis were similar to the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart tri-modal typology (1994). Subclinical narcissism is the counterpart to the family only group, characterised by an absence of psychopathology. The narcissistic type, showing elevated levels of most scales and clinical elevations of narcissism, can be paralleled to generally violent/antisocial men. The high general psychopathy/substance disorder is equivalent to the dysphoric/borderline personality type, displaying high psychological distress, asocial and borderline features. However, unlike the dysphoric/borderline offender the high general psychopathy/substance disorder type displayed the most antisocial features of the three clusters, which may be explained by the difference in the type of sample used (veterans v non-veterans), highlighting the need for examination of types across an exhaustive sample. Whilst all of the sample could be classified into one of the three types this research did not validate the clusters against variables that explain and predict domestic violence behaviour (such as proximal and distal variables proposed by Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994)). This questions the reliability and validity of these types, and their application to the understanding of domestic violence.

Tweed and Dutton (1998) empirically validated the presence of the generally violent/antisocial and dysphoric/borderline type derived by Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994). Cluster analysis revealed an Instrumental and Impulsive type, which were equivalent to the generally violent/antisocial and

dysphoric/borderline types respectively. Types did not differ in terms of antisocial personality characteristics, however, the instrumental abuser conducted more severe physical violence, and the impulsive abuser possessed more borderline personality characteristics and both differed in terms of level of attachment. Within the sample, 11.4% of abusers could not be accounted for by these two groups, suggesting that this explanation for violent behaviour is not broad enough to encompass all offenders. It is likely that the family only group did not form a cluster because only severely violent men were included in the sample. Whilst a comparison group was utilised against which group differences in attachment, trauma and other demographic information could be compared, no assessment measures concerning any possible violent behaviour were carried out with the controls. Hence, there is no guarantee that the controls are non-violent.

Greene, Coles and Johnson (1994) explored the notion that there are different subtypes of anger expression among varying types of domestic violent offenders. A four-cluster solution resulted. The normal cluster had no pathological elevations, as the Family only abuser. Histrionic offenders had elevated levels of hysteria and psychopathic deviate scales, and Depressed Personality had elevations on depression and psychopathic deviate scales. Whilst the histrionic offender is prone to emotional outbursts and is therefore a more suitable match for the generally violent/antisocial type, both show elevations in psychopathic deviance and warrant comparability. Disturbed Personality had elevations on numerous scales such as depression, hypochondriasis, paranoia and social introversion, and is analogous to the Dysphoric/ Borderline type. Experience and expression of anger were measured using the State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI: Spielberger 1988). Multivariate statistical analysis revealed a main effect of personality cluster type on anger expression. Greene et al (1994) suggest that normal and disturbed clusters (having the highest anger expression mean score) were best characterised by uncontrolled violence, who according to Megaree (1966) respond with aggression to frustration and provocation with little inhibition. However the small sample size limits the power and external validity of the study, and no attempt to validate the clusters with external criteria variables has been attempted.

White and Gondolf's study (2000) resulted in three levels of personality pathology, namely low, moderate and severe personality dysfunction. Low personality dysfunction, included the narcissistic conforming style, characterised by an absence of personality disorder and is paralleled to the Family only offender. Moderate personality dysfunction included narcissistic and antisocial disorders, which are comparable to the Generally violent/antisocial offender. Severe personality dysfunction is defined by Axis I and II disorders, Borderline and

Paranoid disorders, of which Borderline is analogous to the Dysphoric/ Borderline Personality. However, MCMI-II profiles were not empirically tested, rather they were interpreted by the clinician, according to set guidelines, reducing the reliability of the typology. Additionally, types were not validated against, using those variables that were not included in construction of the classificatory system yet explain the cause and maintenance of domestic violence (e.g. attachment, social learning). Thus the taxonomy also lacks theoretical relevance to explanation of the abusive behaviour.

Research Utilising Volunteer Samples.

Waltz et al (2000) empirically validated the Holtzworth-Munroe (1994) typology. Three types, namely the Family Only, Generally Violent and Pathological offenders were derived, which are comparable to the Family Only, Generally Violent/Antisocial and Dysphoric Borderline personality types described by Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994). Comparison of the three subcategories with each other and distressed non-violent groups on Axis I and II scales of psychopathology (substance dependence, depression, narcissistic, aggressive sadistic, schizotypal, schizoid and dependent personality pattern) showed a clear distinction between Family Only and Generally Violent and Pathological groups. Whilst attachment variables were able to distinguish clearly between the three categories, the distinction between Generally Violent and Pathological groups lacked clear distinction using personality pathology factors. This may be due to limitations of the MCMI-II itself, or the usefulness of psychopathology as a typing factor.

Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al (2000) studied a mixed sample of self-referrals and court-referrals. As the majority (63%) were self-referrals the study was included in the volunteer group. They conducted an investigation of the overlap between empirically and theoretically derived typologies of domestic violent men. Data underwent cluster analysis (Analysis 1 in Table 3) and was additionally assessed by clinicians (Analysis 2 in Table 3), using a set of decision rules that reflected the theoretical model proposed by Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994). Cluster analysis successfully classified 51% of offenders into a sub-group showing no clinical elevations on scales (Family only), 39% into a category characterised by clinical elevations on psychopathic deviate scales (Generally Violent/Antisocial) and 10% into a sub-group experiencing clinical elevation on almost all scales (Dysphoric Boderline Personality). In contrast, on the basis of decision rules 26.5% of offenders could not be

classified into any one of the three proposed sub-groups, casting doubt over the accuracy of clinical observation, and the characteristics which Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) proposed to classify abusers with. However, Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al (2000) did not include a measure of severity of violence to place men into subtypes, which have increased accuracy.

Holtzworth-Munroe et al (2000) tested the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) domestic violent offender typology utilising the three descriptive dimensions of severity of marital violence, generality of violence and psychopathology. Four clusters of abusers were identified. Three resembled the predicted subtypes, of Family Only men (who resembled non-violent controls, other than their violent behaviour) Generally Violent/Antisocial men and Borderline Dysphoric Personality. The final cluster, given their intermediate scores on most scales and their higher score on the antisociality scale, was named the Low Level Antisocial abuser. Holtzworth-Munroe et al (2000) depicts that this group is probably analogous to the originally proposed Family Only group (Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart 1994) and other Family Only types identified in previous typologies. Holtzworth-Munroe et al (2000) gives the example of Hamberger's (1996) non pathological group, as closely resembling the Low Level Antisocial abuser on several measures, such as mean level of husband violence and mean number of arrests. Thus, for the purpose of the meta-analysis (Table 3) the percentage of Holtzworth-Munroe et al (2000) sample characterised by the Low Level Antisocial cluster are included in the original Family Only category. Given that this study utilised a community sample, the authors suggest that the Family Only group revealed in this research had probably not been studied in previous typologies of domestic violent offenders.

Gottman et al (1995) differentiated between Type I and Type II abusers on the basis of the heart rate activity of abusive men during a videotaped marital interaction. The heart rate of Type I significantly lowered through the first third of the conflict compared to that of Type II, whose heart rate either increased or remained stable. Using multivariate statistical techniques heart rate reactivity of the two groups was related to other measures. Gottman (1995) concluded that Type I men are parallel to the Generally Violent/Antisocial and Type II to the Family Only offender respectively. However, forming a typology, which is dependent on two possible outcomes (whether abusive men increased or decreased heart rate activity during conflict), limits the number of subcategories to two groups, which may have resulted in an overrepresentation of the Type II offenders (80.3%

Table 3). It may be more productive to construct taxonomy along other dimensions against which physiological measures could be associated.

Review Findings

It was proposed that the court referral sample, consisting of more severely violent offenders, would have fewer men in the family only category in comparison to violent offenders or couples from a volunteer sample. Table 3 presents the percentages of men classified into each subtype (within each study) and the mean percentage totals of subgroups by sample type and overall aggregate percentage. A simple meta-analysis utilising the court-referred sample revealed mean percentages for the subtypes as follows; 38% Family Only, 36% Generally Violent/Antisocial and 24% Dysphoric/ Borderline Personality. These figures are not in accordance with the predicted values of 50% (Family Only), 25% (Generally violent/Antisocial) and 25% (Dysphoric Borderline Personality) proposed by Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994). A simple meta-analysis of volunteer sample revealed mean percentages closer to those predicted (59%, 23%, 16% respectively). However, Gottman et al's study (1995) provided an over representation in the Family Only subtype, skewing the results. Nevertheless, there was a significant difference in the mean percentages for court referrals and volunteers (Chi-square = 9.011, $df = 2$, $p < 0.02$), with less representation of the family only subtype in the court referral sample. Therefore, the hypothesis was upheld showing varied treatment needs for different referral groups.

Interestingly, when all the studies are taken into account, the total mean percentages are 50%, 30%, 20% respectively, similar to those suggested by Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994). Other hypothetical typologies (studies 6 & 7: Table 2) are not detailed in Table 3, as they did not utilise a sample in order to test their theory, and thus could not be included in the meta-analysis. In summary the reviewed research ascertains that domestic violent men are not a homogenous group. The notion that there are categories of violent behaviour lends support to Walters (2000) argument that the violence an individual exerts is not due to the universal 'violence prone-personality type'. Walters instead proposes alternative explanations for production of violent behaviour as does Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994), such as attachment status, past learning, psychological adjustment and reinforcement. However, the developmental patterns of abusive behaviour are in need of longitudinal research. In addition, the stability of the offender's behaviour also requires longitudinal study to assess whether offenders

change over time from family only to generally violent. Finally, the effectiveness of various treatments for different referral groups and types of abusers needs to be examined so that the success of programmes can be increased. Holtzworth-Munroe (2000) has suggested that the low rate of therapy effectiveness may be due to therapists not matching interventions to abuser subtypes and this review has shown that differences in court and volunteer referrals also need to be taken into account

Methodological Considerations.

To date the vast majority of studies, investigating typologies of domestic violent offenders, have been conducted in North America, which may limit its generality. Blackburn (1993) asserts, typologies are theories, which require empirical testing. However, researchers deriving typologies of domestic violent men have either not empirically validated their claims (Monson & Langhinrichsen-Rohling 1998; Greene, Lynch & Decker 1997), or used small sample sizes (Gottman et al 1995; Tweed and Dutton 1998; Greene et al 1994; Waltz et al 2000 and Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al 2000). In addition, studies lack a comparison with non-violent control groups (Gottman et al 1995; Hamberger et al 1996; Rothschild et al 1997; White and Gondolf 2000; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al 2000 and Greene et al 1994) and fail to validate categories using variables associated with domestic violence (Rothschild et al 1997; White and Gondolf 2000 and Greene et al 1994). A comprehensive study should ideally include a wide array of domestic violent offenders and non-offenders from volunteer groups, clinical populations, incarcerated offenders and those offenders on probation or parole, in order for comparisons to be made in relation to classifications based on risk factors for family violence.

It is imperative that the classification system is formed using variables that best represent the underlying psychological dimensions that differentiate between types. Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) have been criticised for utilising two confounding dimensions of violence and psychopathology (Hamberger et al 1996). Indeed several studies suggest that psychopathology is not the most efficient variable to use in determining categories of offender type (Hamberger et al 1996; Waltz et al 2000). Future research is needed to determine if one factor can be utilised to produce a typology of offenders, such as attachment (Tweed and Dutton 1998) or nature of the aggression (hostile v instrumental), or whether the 2 x 2 typology of antisocially and borderline characteristics, proposed by Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) is necessary.

Profiling Domestic Violent Offenders.

A major problem with many typologies has been the rigid classification schemes used. Previous research has proposed typologies based on either a priori, theoretical speculation or with the use of statistical techniques such as cluster analysis. Offenders falling between the boundaries of types are unclassifiable (as in Hamberger et al 1996; Tweed and Dutton 1998; White and Gondolf 2000 and Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al 2000). It is suggested that classification must therefore be on the basis of dominant themes of behaviour, rather than mutually exclusive ones. This approach is now adopted in 'scientific profiling' (Canter 1994).

Taking a 'scientific profiling' approach it may prove more practical to devise a typology based upon the behavioural actions administered during the violent act, against which other maladaptive characteristics could be associated (e.g. attachment style, personality pathology, social skill deficit, attitudes). The central hypothesis of scientific profiling is that assailants will carry out crimes using different actions and that these differences reflect features of the offender (Hodge 1999). Thus themes of behaviour need to be established to identify differences between offences and offenders. Canter and Heritage (1989), in a study of rape behaviour, discovered interpretable trends that characterised sub-sets of themes of behaviour. Each theme is viewed as an interpersonal interaction, that is, the way in which an offender deals with people in every day life will be reflected in the role that the victim is assigned during the attack (Canter 1994). Refinement of results produced a three-fold thematic distinction of victim roles for sexual crimes. 1) Victim as an object – something to be used and controlled through restraint and threat. 2) Victim as a vehicle – of the offenders own emotional state, such as anger and frustration, and is subjected to extreme violence and abuse. 3) Victim as a person – a level of pseudo-intimacy is created, to establish some sort of rapport or relationship. This scientific profiling approach could be applied to typologies of domestic violent offenders, such a taxonomy may be of practical value during police interventions, or treatment decisions if other factors (such as psychopathology, attachment style, attitudes, likelihood of escalation etc.) could be associated with each subcategory. From knowledge of aspects of the violent offence, appropriate intervention strategies could be implemented, without having to perform time-consuming personality inventories or attachment questionnaires and statistical analysis. However, a typology based on crime scene actions would only be of use to intervention at a tertiary level, other taxonomies based on intrapersonal factors may be more valuable in predicting violence, prior to its start or escalation.

Family Typologies in Relation to Domestic Violence

Typology research may be criticised for its narrow focus on the offender without considering other factors such as the context and behavioural actions of the victim. The literature has mainly classified domestic violent men utilising intrapersonal characteristics of the offender, such as personality, psychopathology or physiological response. By contrast, some researchers have stipulated, aggression in the family is a product of the person – environment interaction (Frude, 1991; Browne and Herbert, 1997). Therefore, a more holistic family focused typology, based on the interpersonal characteristics of the offender and victim together with those situational factors that triggered the violent act, maybe a more fruitful approach.

Typologies of violent couples could be produced, as research at a dyadic level has found that abused wives are not always passive but important in the violent interaction, as they often reciprocate with negative behaviours (Holtzworth-Munroe et al 1997). For example, Gayford (1976) distinguishes various types of victims that have a differential effect on the activities of the offender. Just as individuals may differ, it is important to realise that violent couples may not be a homogenous group. Indeed Bartholomew and Henderson (2001) assert that that relationship abuse is best understood within a dyadic context, with both persons being considered in relation to one another. Bartholomew and Henderson (2001) report different patterns of violence between couples (reciprocal; one-way violence) dependent on the interacting attachment styles of the two individuals involved in the relationship. Family typologies should be considered, given the high association between different forms of family violence, especially spouse abuse and child abuse. Indeed, it has been estimated that between 46% and 53% of spouse abuse cases also involves physical and/or sexual of children in the family (Browne and Hamilton, 1999). Researchers have unwittingly discovered potential behavioural variables that discriminate between types of family dyads. Browne and Hamilton (1999) in an examination of the links between child and spouse abuse, reported that those cases with an overlap of both child and spouse abuse in one household displayed greater severity of domestic violence. Therefore, it is plausible that the type of offender who abuses both spouse and children is more severe in his violent actions than those offending solely against their partner. Such information may hold implications for risk assessment. Indeed Jacobson et al (1996) and Quigley and Leonard (1996) report that cessation of violence appears least likely in severely aggressive men (19-25%). The patterns of violence in the family have implications both for assessment and treatment and therefore typologies of violent families are in desperate need of development. Taking a family system approach some common forms

of violent patterns observed in families are outlined in Figure 2; broadly classified into reciprocal, hierarchical and paternal family violence.

- **Reciprocal Family violence;** this involves the mother retaliating violently to the abusive father. Where children are present both parents have the potential to be violent towards their children and if not the children may still suffer emotional abuse through witnessing the reciprocal violence of their parents (see Figure 2a). In these families both the father and the mother may be seen offenders in terms of treatment.
- **Hierarchical Family Violence;** this involves a hierarchy where the father is violent to the mother and the mother is violent to the children but does not retaliate violently to the abusive father. In some cases the Father may also be violent to the children (see Figure 2b). In terms of treatment, the father is the main perpetrator of violence and the mother may be considered to be both a victim and an offender.
- **Paternal Family Violence;** this involves the mother being regarded by the father as another vulnerable dependent with no more status than the children in the family. In fact, the children may observe the mother to be as powerless as them and in some circumstances also become violent to their mother (see Figure 2c). In these families, the mother is very much in need of support and treatment as a victim with the father being the main perpetrator of violence.

In all the above scenarios, the children require support and treatment as victims of family violence whether they are directly victimised physically or sexually or indirectly victimised through witnessing violence between their parents. Children who do not receive such help have a higher probability of aggressing toward both their mothers and their fathers as teenagers and young adults (Browne and Hamilton 1998).

Conclusion

This review of previous typology research ascertains that domestically violent men are a heterogeneous group. Therefore, no one treatment may be universally applicable to all types of domestic offenders. The review provides support for the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) three-fold typology, with most of the research studies exploring the theoretical distinction between the three subcategories (Hamberger et al 1996; Rothschild et al 1997; White and Gondolf 2000; Waltz et al 2000; Holtzworth-Munroe et al 2000; Langhinrichsen-Rholing

et al 2000), or some variation of the categories (Tweed and Dutton 1998; Gottman et al 1995; Monson & Langhinrichsen-Rholing 1998). However, methodological limitations limit the validity and reliability of results, such as use of small unrepresentative samples, lack of empirical validation and uncertainty of the most appropriate dimensions on which to base typologies.

Overall, the development of typologies for domestic violent offenders will impinge upon the remaining three objectives recommended by The World Health Organisation Task Force on Violence and Health (2000) in the following ways:

- Firstly, the identification of differences and consistencies in the violent behaviour shown by domestic violent offenders will help determine underlying processes that contribute to violence in the family, together with causes and consequences. The resulting typologies will provide practitioners with risk characteristics, aiding the process of risk assessment.
- Secondly, a classification system will aid treatment evaluation and encourage the development of 'best practice' treatment programs that will be more effective in preventing further victimisation.
- Thirdly, the capacity of police, social service and health sectors to deal with domestic violence can be increased by tailoring interventions toward specific types of offenders.

Future research needs to address such shortcomings in the hope that a standardised classification system of domestic violent men can be developed. In developing a more comprehensive classification system a scientific profiling approach may be useful. In addition to individual typologies, it is suggested that typologies of violent families be required to inform assessment and treatment at a broader family system level. This is especially important for those victims who wish not to separate from their violent spouse and for families who show both spouse abuse and child abuse.

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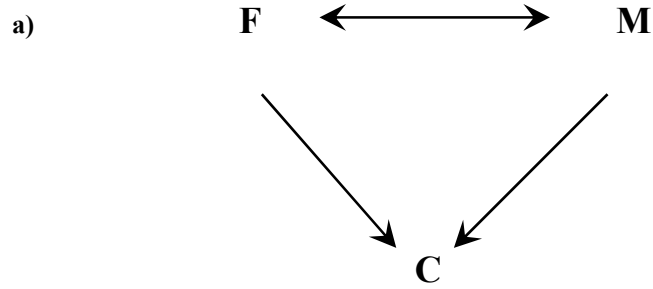
Table 1: Summary of the characteristics which researchers have associated with domestic violent men in comparison to non-violent men

-
- Low assertiveness (Dutton and Strachan (1987); Goldstein & Rosenbaum (1985)).
 - Low self-esteem (Goldstein & Rosenbaum (1985); Flemming (1979); Saunders (1995)).
 - Poor social skills (Elbow (1977); Walker (1979); Goldstein & Rosenbaum (1985)).
 - Alcohol and drug misuse (Tolman & Bennett (1990); O'Leary (1993)).
 - Poor impulse control (O'Leary (1993); Bernard & Bernard (1984)).
 - Cognitive distortions (Saunders (1995); (O'Leary (1993)).
 - Inappropriate dependencies (Elbow (1977); Bernard & Bernard (1984); Purdy & Nickle (1981); Shupe et al (1987)).
 - Violent backgrounds (Gayford (1975); Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz (1980); Hotaling and Sugarman (1986)).
 - History of violent behaviour (Walker (1979); Convit et al (1988)).
 - Antisocial personality (Flourney and Wilson (1991); Gottman (1995)).
-

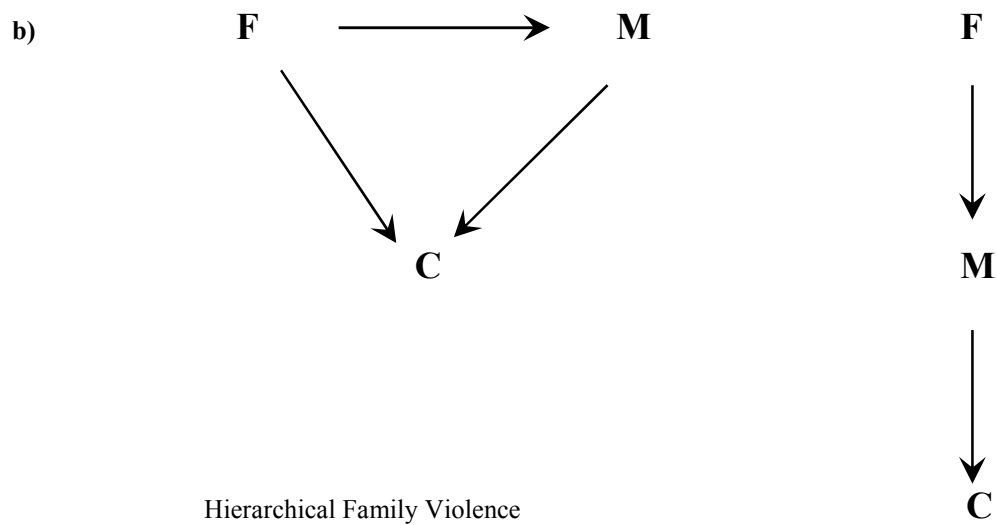
<i>Distal Variables</i>		<i>Proximal variables</i>		<i>Resultant Type (violence and psychopathology dimensions)</i>
<hr/>				
				<i>Family Only</i>
Lowest levels of childhood abuse, exposure to violence and involvement with deviant peers.	→	Low impulsivity. Mild social skill deficits. No hostile attitudes toward women. No attitudes supportive of violence. Secure/ preoccupied attachment style.	→	Absence of psychopathology. Low frequency of violence. Low severity of violence. Familial abuse.
				<i>Generally Violent/ antisocial</i>
Highest level of parental violence and childhood abuse, with the most extensive association with deviant peers.	→	High impulsivity. Lack of conflict resolution skills. Negative attitudes toward women. Attitudes supportive of violence. Avoidant/ dismissive attachment style.	→	APD or psychopathy. Moderate – severe violence. Psychological/ sexual and non-sexual violence. Most extrafamilial violence. Most likely to have problems with substance abuse.
				<i>Dysphoric/ borderline personality</i>
Moderate levels of parental violence and moderate to high levels of child abuse, with some involvement with deviant peers.	→	Moderate levels of impulsivity. Social skill deficits. Hostile attitudes toward women. Attitudes supportive of violence. Preoccupied attachment style.	→	Psychologically distressed, evidencing borderline personality characteristics. Moderate – severe violence. Psychological/ sexual and non-sexual violence. Primarily familial violence. Some problems with substance abuse.

Note: APD = antisocial personality disorder

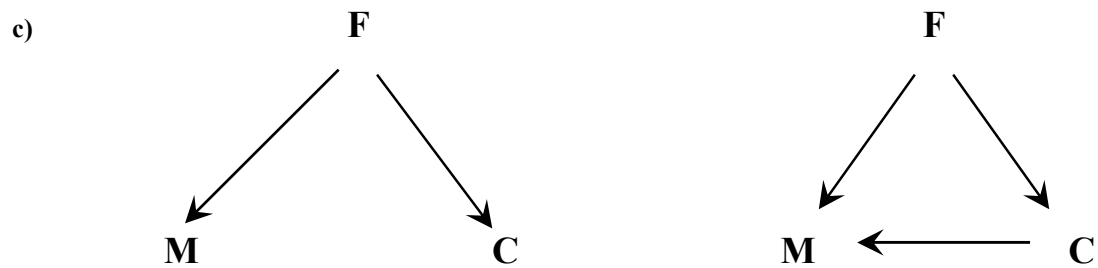
Figure 1: Summary of the Hypothesised Distal and Proximal Variables leading to the Development of the Various Subcategories of Abusers (adapted from Holtzworth-Munroe et al (2000)).



Reciprocal Family Violence



Hierarchical Family Violence



Paternal Family Violence.

Figure 2: Abuse patterns within Domestic Violent Families.

F = Father or Step-father. *M* = Mother or Step-mother. *C* = Child/Children or Step-child/Children.

Table 2: Summary of Reviewed Typology Research

Authors	Typology Basis	Sample size and origin	Comparison Group.	Methodology Used to Create Typology	Established Types	Violence Dimensions	Associated Characteristics	
							Distal	Proximal
1) Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart (1994)	Hypothetical reasoning based on reviewed literature	Reviewed 15 research papers providing typologies of domestic violent men	Hypothetical Reasoning	Not applicable	Family Only	Familial violence Low severity & frequency	Lowest levels of childhood abuse, exposure to violence & involvement with deviant peers.	Low impulsivity. Mild social skill deficits. No hostile attitudes toward women /supportive of violence. Secure/preoccupied attachment.
					Generally Violent/ antisocial	Most severe violence. Extra/familial violence.	Highest levels of parental violence & childhood abuse. Most extensive association with deviant peers.	High impulsivity. Lack conflict resolution skills. Negative attitudes toward women/ supportive of violence. Avoidant/dismissive attachment style.
					Dysphoric/ borderline	Moderate – high severity. Mostly familial	Moderate levels of parental violence & moderate-high levels of child abuse, some involvement with deviant peers.	Moderate impulsivity. Social skills deficits. Hostile attitudes toward women/ supportive of violence. Preoccupied attachment style.
2) Greene, Coles & Johnson (1994)	Personality	40 men court referred to treatment	None	Cluster analysis of MMPI & STAXI data	Histrionic	Lowest anger expression		
					Depressed	Elevated anger expression		
					Normal	Elevated anger expression		
					Disturbed	Highest anger expression		
3) Gottman et al (1995)	Physiological Response	61 violent volunteer couples	None	Differentiation in HR reduction, monitored during a video of marital conflict	Type 1	Extra/familial violence & emotionally abusive	Witness violence in Family of origin	Drug dependence, antisocial behaviour & sadistic aggression
					Type 2	Familial violence		Dependency on partner, alcohol & drugs.
4) Hamberger et al (1996)	Personality	833 men court referred to treatment	None	Cluster analysis Of MCMI-II data	Passive-aggressive/dependent	Extra/familial Violence. Most frequent violence	Highest level of child abuse	Presence of police records. Prior alcohol & drug counselling. Highest mean base rate scores on pathological personality scales.
					Antisocial	Most extrafamilial violence	Witness parental violence.	Anger prone. Extensive police records.
					Non pathological	Familial violence, of low severity & frequency.	Least child abuse or witnessing of parental violence.	Absence of psychopathology.
5) Rothschild et al (1997)	Personality	183 war veterans court referred to treatment	None	Cluster analysis Of MCMI-II data	Subclinical Narcissism			
					Narcissistic Personality Disorder			
					High general psychopathy/ substance disorder			
6) Greene, Lynch & Decker (1997)	Personality & psychobiology	Based on Greene et al (1994) sample	None	Hypothetical reasoning applied to Greene et al (1994) previously derived typology	Normal		Endocrine factors & learning. Genetic factors & neurotransmitter dysregulation. Endocrine influences, learning & neurotransmitter dysregulation. Brain dysfunction, history of abuse	
					Depressed			
					Histrionic			
					Disturbed			

Table 2 continued

Authors	Typology Basis	Sample size and origin	Comparison Group.	Methodology Used to Create Typology	Established Types	Violence Dimensions	Associated Characteristics	
							Distal	Proximal
7) Monson & Langhinrichsen-Rohling (1998)	Generality & sexual nature of violence	None	None	Hypothetical speculation based on literature.	Family Only	Familial		
					Dysphoric/Borderline	Familial/extrafamilial		
					Generally Violent/Antisocial	Familial/extrafamilial		
					Sexually Sadistic	Familial/extrafamilial		
8) Tweed & Dutton (1998)	Personality	79 men court referred for treatment	44 working class men	Cluster analysis of MCMI-II data	Instrumental	Most severe & frequent violence	Suggestion of child sexual abuse	Preoccupied attachment style. APD tendencies.
					Impulsive			Fearful/preoccupied attachment. High BPO. High anger response.
9) White & Gondolf (2000)	Personality	100 men court referred to treatment	None	MCMI-III profiles were systematically interpreted according to guidelines	Narcissistic/conforming style.			
					Avoidant depressive style.			
					Antisocial disorder.			
					Narcissistic disorder.			
					Paranoid disorder.			
10) Holtzworth-Munroe et al (2000)	Violence dimensions and personality-psycho pathology disorder	102 violent couples. Recruited from the community	62 non-violent couples (DNV & NDNV)	Cluster Analysis of violence measures & MMPI-II data	Family Only	Familial violence Low severity.	Lowest measures of distal correlates.	Lowest levels of proximal correlates.
					Low level Antisocial	Low-Moderate severity. Mostly familial.	Parental rejection & child abuse.	Fell intermediate of FO & GVA on proximal correlates.
					Borderline Dysphoric	Moderate – high severity. Mostly familial.	Parental rejection & child abuse.	Preoccupied/fearful attachment. High impulsivity. Hostile attitude toward women and those supportive of violence.
					Generally viol/antisocial	Most severe Extra/familial violence	Parental rejection & child abuse. Involvement in delinquent peer activities.	Dismissing attachment style. Low social skills. Hostile attitude toward women and those supportive of violence. Most criminal activity.
11) Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al (2000)	Psychopathology & generality of violence	49 men entering treatment. Mixed self-referral & court referred.	None	Two sets of analyse were run to explore the effects of empirical and theoretical methodology. 1)Cluster analysis. of MMPI & 2)decision rules were generated, for analyse of MMPI and BDI.	Family Only			Approximately 75% of criminal behaviour was linked to alcohol/drug abuse (as reported by empirical method)
					Generally Violent/antisocial		Least likely to have a history of child abuse	Approximately 75% of criminal behaviour was linked to alcohol/drug abuse (as reported by empirical method)
					Dysphoric/Borderline			Significantly more likely to have the most suicidal thoughts (defined by theoretical method)

Table 2 continued

Authors	Typology Basis	Sample size and origin	Comparison Group.	Methodology Used to Create Typology	Established Types	Violence Dimensions	Associated Characteristics	
							Distal	Proximal
12) Waltz et al (2000)	Violence dimensions & personality pathology.	75 violent couples (paid volunteers)	32 DNV couples	Mixture analysis of violence dimension and MCMI-II data.	Family only	Familial violence	Witness most severe & frequent parental violence	Anxious -ambivalent attachment style.
					Generally violent	Most extrafamilial violence. Most frequent violence & emotional violence	Witness most severe & frequent parental violence.	Dismissing/ avoidant attachment style.
					Pathological	Mainly familial violence & emotional violence		Preoccupied/ ambivalent attachment style.

HR = heart rate: APD = antisocial personality disorder: BPO = borderline personality organisation: DNV = distressed non-violent:.....NDNV = non distressed non violent: MCMI- = Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (Millon 1983), MCMI-II (Millon 1987), MCMI-III (Millon 1994) MMPI = Minesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory: (Graham, 1987; Hathaway & Mckinley, 1967) STAXI = State-Trait Anxiety Expression Inventory (Spielberger 1988) BDI = Beck Depression Inventory (Beck et al 1961)

Table 3: Relationship between the Reviewed Literature and the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) Typology.

Research Study	Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) Subtypes			Percentage of sample not Classified
	Family Only (50%)	Generally Violent/ Antisocial (25%)	Dysphoric/ Borderline Personality (25%)	
Court referred samples.				
Hamberger et al (1996)	Non pathological (41.9%)	Antisocial (26.5%)	Passive-aggressive/dependant (18.5%)	13.1%
Rothschild et al (1997)	Subclinical narcissism (28.4%)	Narcissistic personality disorder (46.4%)	High general psychopathy/ substance disorder (25.1%)	N/A
Tweed & Dutton (1998)		Instrumental (40.5%)	Impulsive (48.1%)	11.4%
Greene et al (1994)	Normal (27.5%)	Histrionic (22.5%)& Depressed (27.5%)	Disturbed (22.5%)	N/A
White & Gondolf (2000)	Narcissistic conforming style (32%) Avoidant/depressive style (21%)	Antisocial disorder (11%) & Narcissistic disorder (7%)	Borderline disorder (4%)	16%
Mean percentage **	37.7%	36.3%	23.7%	9% classified into 'Paranoid' group.
Volunteer sample.				
Waltz et al (2000)	Family only (53%)	Generally violent (24%)	Pathological (23%)	N/A
*Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al (2000) – Analysis 1.	Family only (51%)	Generally violent/ antisocial (39%)	Dysphoric/ borderline (10%)	N/A
*Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al (2000) – Analysis 2.	Family only (42.9%)	Generally violent/ antisocial (16.3%)	Dysphoric/ borderline (14.3%)	26.5%
Holtzworth-Munroe et al (2000)	Family only (36.2%) & Low Level Antisocial (33.3%)	Generally violent/antisocial (15.7%)	Borderline dysphoric (14.7%)	N/A
Gottman et al (1995)	Type 2 (80.3%)	Type 1 (19.7%)		N/A
Mean percentage **	59.3%	22.9%	15.5%	
Total Mean Percentage	49.7%	29.6%	20 %	

* Mixed sample; the majority (63%) were 'self-referrals' and 37% were 'court-referrals' on probation or parole.

** A comparison of court and volunteer samples showed a significant difference (Chi-square = 9.011, df = 2, p<0.02).

